1: Herskovits . E-4, 5 (1934) 1937 SV3 Haiti SV3
Mirebalais

178 [illegible] in Africa, also allow play for the aesthetic impulse, have been
325 326 lost as well. Ironworking is absent not only because the necessary deposits of iron ore are lacking, but because the technique of shaping the metal into various forms, which in Africa is in the hands of specialists, was apparently suppressed in the time
296 178 285 of slavery. No native cloth is woven. Basketry has survived, but whereas in Africa designs of no small artistic merit are achieved in this medium, it is markedly utilitarian in Haiti. Even from a technical point of view, the basketry forms are of the simplest, the panniers used for transportation of products on mule-back being merely an in-and-out weave, and the plaited strips of which hats and the *macoute*, or carrying basket, are made are of a parallel simplicity.

524 525 178 Few African recreational forms have survived. *Wari*, the draughts-like West African game found today in many parts of the West Indies, is unknown in the interior of Haiti, though it has been introduced into Port-au-Prince, where it is played by longshoremen who have learned it from the sailors of near-by islands. String figures, important in West Africa, are not encountered, and no children's pursuits comparable to the play of young Africans were seen in Mirebalais, if the minor ceremony of marking the loss of childhood teeth be excepted. African types of recreation have in the main given way to cock-fights and card-games, both of which derive their interest from the opportunities they offer for gambling—a fact important in itself, since gambling is not one of the widespread African vices. The most important card-games are *trois-sept*, *marriage*, and *bezique*, and both men and women
541 know them and play them for stakes. Similarly cock-fighting, particularly during the dry season, is a passionate avocation of the men. Large sums are wagered on the results of an encounter, and feeling often runs high.[4]

533 535 The Haitian genius for art and recreation is best embodied in the dance and its accompanying songs and drum rhythms. Virtuosity is attained not only by the dancers, but even more

[P 105]

8. Mardi Gras and Rara: Jugglers, Maypoles, and Kings

From early in January until Easter, each year, the Haitian countryside 541
is infected with a riotous carnival spirit that puts all else in the background. First comes Mardi Gras, beginning early in January and building to a great climax at Shrovetide. And then on Ash Wednesday begins the seven-week festival known as Rara, Lwalwali, or Chrisopié.

Every week end in the Mardi Gras season the country roads and 541
villages are alive with special music, dancing bands, and traditional 533
kinds of masquerading. The little crossroads in the mountains where the *habitants* usually hold their markets are suddenly swarming with drummers, trumpeters, magicians, jugglers, masked dancers, and acrobats. Each band has its own name, its banners and paraphernalia, new topical songs composed for the occasion, and sometimes a dance virtuoso. Each [535]
roving band competes for the attention and admiration of the spectators, and its ranks are often swelled by passers-by moving in the same direction who choose to dance their way along the roads rather than walk. Often women and girls on distant market errands will join in [482]
the celebration, seemingly unencumbered by the heavy loads they carry on their heads.

The Mardi Gras of the mountains and the plains is a dynamic spring 184
rite of which the urban elite version is only a pale and feeble imitation. 541
There are no pretty floats, no exhibits of female beauty, and no Coca-Cola advertisements. Sometimes the country bands move into Port-au-Prince and join the urban activities.

One by one the spectacles pass by on their uncertain way—to north 541
or south, into the town or out of the town, wherever chance leads them. In addition to the musicians, acrobats, jugglers, and masked dancers, there are baton twirlers, comedians on stilts, and mimes. Each group has its own theme. One may call itself the Zombesupe, another the Cochons Gris, another Cochons Rouges—names designating legendary

Courlander 8-5 (1937-1954) 1960 SV3 Haiti SV3

541 half-demon cannibals who meet in secret in the hollow heart of the mapou tree. Some are dressed in comic ancient military attire, replete with swords, epaulets, medals, and outlandish beards, representing "the Generals." Others, under the name Bande Autophonique, follow a human phonograph—a leader singing through an antique Edison horn.

541 53 And there are bands of male *rabaniers*, or Maypole dancers, some of them attired as women, weaving their colored ribbons around portable poles, to the accompaniment of guitars, marimbulas, and cha-chas. Male stick dancers known as *batonni*, dressed in women's clothing, crouch in circles and perform baton-tapping dances to the accompaniment of drumming and singing. Other small bands wander about impersonating characters from folklore or politics in grotesque homemade costumes. One might see, for example, a fanciful bocor driving before him a band of zombies, wielding a whip, and barking out weird raucous commands.

After the cataclysmic grand finale of the Mardi Gras at Shrovetide there is the briefest of lulls, and then the country is in the throes of Rara. The day of the *roi* Lwalwadi (the King of Lwalwadi) has arrived. Hundreds of Rara bands move through the towns and villages, each with its orchestra of bamboo trumpets or conch-shell horns and its "king"—an ornately clad dancer or baton juggler. The Rara bands move from place to place, dance, sing, exhibit their featured performers, and then move on, pressed perhaps by other bands behind them or jostled by another group moving in the opposite direction. When darkness comes, the bands light their way with wooden torches or candelabra of tiny oil lamps. Every week end for seven weeks, in the heat of day and the darkness of night, the mountain trails are alive with these processions.

541 The Rara festivities reach their climax on Good Friday week end, and by Easter morning they are ended. During these final days there is a last grand display, with troupes coming in from the mountains and the plains to the larger cities and towns. One of the traditional Rara convocation centers in the south is the town of Léogane. On Good Friday week end, Léogane is transformed into a milling, surging, trumpeting mass of celebrating country people.

533 531 535 The songs heard during Rara are full of praise or derision for well-known personalities. Some of them are boldly ribald or licentious. And often the dancing itself is openly sexual in its implications. Haitians humorously refer to this kind of dancing as *ewogé* (enraged, crazy).

541 675 Early in January, even while the Mardi Gras is in progress, each community gets down to the business of organizing its Rara group. It may be organized in one of several ways. In certain communities there

2: Courlander 3-5 (1937-1955) 1960 SV3 Haiti SV3

In certain communities there is some continuity over a period of years, the Rara or Chariopié band remaining more or less intact. Normally it has a *maît'* Rara, also called *major* or *président*, who assumes the organizational responsibilities for the group. This means getting new costumes for the participants when required, refurbishing the old costumes and musical instruments, and recruiting special talent—perhaps a new "king." Where the same group continues from year to year, the maît' Rara actually serves as a sort of executive secretary. In some instances, however, the initiative for forming a group is undertaken by the maît' Rara himself. He chooses the costumes and *décor* of the group; he recruits the musicians and the young women and girls who form the singing and dancing chorus; and he chooses the roi Lwalwadi, who will be the group's main feature. He may decide upon the theme around which the group will be built, and may even decide upon the repertoire of songs it will sing. The maît' Rara has specific responsibilities and is obligated to provide his band with refreshments and food.

Expenses of the group are defrayed by collections made in the course of its "exercises." The band will stop before a crowd of spectators, or before a house, and will perform until it receives a gift known as *payé sorti* (pay to go) money. After receiving its payé sorti, the group performs an encore and then moves on. This custom of performing for gifts appears to have been known in colonial days. Eugène Aubin notes that the slaves on the plantations celebrated on New Year's Day with drums and dances.[1] At midnight they appeared before the foreman or owner of the plantation. One of the slaves would recite a speech to him, or perhaps the group would sing a song praising the master's virtues. Then, over the heads of the celebrants, a slave would extend a long bamboo pole with a beribboned basket fastened to the end. The plantation master would place his gift in the basket, after which the group would leave the house.

Some few groups do not have a "king" but are built around musical instruments or other features. However, the "king" is regarded as an old tradition. Aubin reported that the roi Lwalwadi dates from the time of the Emperor Soulouque in the nineteenth century. Soulouque is said to have named the first roi Lwalwadi in the Cul-de-Sac Plain. But there are reasons to suspect that these dancing virtuosi, by whatever name they were called, existed long before Soulouque entered the picture.

The roi Lwalwadi is a dancer of very special talents, and it is said that, though his title is not hereditary, his dances have been handed down within the family from role of other years. Much care is given to the costume he wears. It is sometimes made of expensive satin or velvet

[1] [Aubin, *En Haïti*, p. 92. CF p. 351, Category 16.—Analyst]

2: Courlander B-5 (1937-1965) 1960 SV2 Haiti SV3

and covered with tiny mirrors or bits of colored glass. The towering headdress of antlers or papier-mâché sculpture unavoidably recalls similar headdresses in West Africa. Each roi has his own style of dance, which is usually accompanied by drums. It may be a belly dance, a dance of delicate balance, or one of complicated footwork and semiacrobatics such as the imitation of a pair of scissors at work. Throughout the dancing the headdress remains majestically erect.

In addition to the roi Lwalwali and the milit' Rara (who is constantly in the midst of things, blowing his whistle), there are other traditional Rara personalities: the *major jour*, who juggles with a metal baton (sometimes two or three of these jugglers work together), and the *jongleur*, a juggler or strong man who performs such feats as dancing while holding a fully set table off the ground with his teeth.

On the southwest peninsula, in the region around Jérémie, there is a splurge of wrestling exhibitions during Rara days. Known as *pingé*, this festival wrestling is done with a background of excited drumming and has a striking resemblance to wrestling traditions in West Africa. Local "champions" will invade a neighboring community, sometimes traveling considerable distances to make a challenge. As in West Africa, some of these wrestlers take their own musicians with them. The musicians often are provided by the village in which the events take place. If a challenge is accepted, the spectators form a large circle, with the wrestlers in the center and the musicians to one side. There may be drums and bamboo flutes, occasionally supplemented by large earthern jars and lengths of bamboo beaten with sticks. The wrestlers are dressed only in shorts. When a man is thrown, the event is over, and another pair of wrestlers takes over. Sometimes a "champion" will take on a series of opponents until he is tired. Afterward he may move on to another community to find new competition, perhaps accompanied by a large group of friends and supporters from his own village. When the Rara season comes to an end, pingé is over for the year. It is one of the few athletic sport activities of the Haitian peasant.

And now and then during Rara a *debuis* is seen. The *debuis* is a carved wooden marionette with a short handle below. Its arms and legs are moved by pulling a string. It is usually painted, and sometimes it is dressed. One debuis observed was provided with a loose dresslike costume; when the string was pulled, a large phallus hinged into view in an erect position. This marionette was an object of endless fun-making among spectators.[3]

Another type of marionette is the "Two Kings," made of papier-mâché and operated with strings. The "Two Kings," sitting in a papier-

[3] [Footnote appears in Category 16, p. 351.—Analyst]

3: Courlander 9-5 (1827-1855) 1960 SV3 Hait SV3

mâché carriage or on papier-mâché horses, make their appearance during Rara as well as on the Day of the Kings (*Les Rois*).

Among the traditional paraphernalia carried by Rara groups are cocomacaque sticks, cha-cha rattles, metal rattles called *achouey*, a set of rattles on a tall thin pole (called *jouvenjou*), candelabra bearing candles or oil lamps (*lampions*), banners and flags, and such miscellaneous musical instruments as the grage scraper, bamboo scraping devices, the *kata* finger drum, *asonte* (beating boards), and various kinds of secular drums.

The general tone of Rara is nonreligious. The dancing is free from the decorous restraints which characterize most religious ritual, and some early observers of the festival were shocked by what they saw. Some of them went so far as to attribute Haiti's dense population to the "licentious activities" and reckless abandon of the spring carnival. The Catholic Church and some political administrators have sporadically sought to suppress Rara, along with Vodoun ritual. And even today in Port-au-Prince the foreign visitor often is urged to watch the elite Mardi Gras with its floats and mulatto queens as a substitute.

Although Rara has an over-all tone of secular abandon, it has links with both Catholic and Vodoun ritual. Good Friday is given over in good measure to miming the story of Jesus and Judas. A perambulating band may carry an effigy of Judas hanging from a pole. Another will burn the Judas effigy, or drag it in the dust as the crowd moves along the road. In another group a man playing the part of Judas may crawl on his hands and knees along the trail, while Jesus' avengers pursue him with long, cracking whips.

Tying in with Vodoun ritual, virtually all Rara drums and other paraphernalia are "dedicated" or "rededicated" before Lent in special houngfor services. And on the last day of Rara, usually late in the night, prayers are said, the lwa are called upon, and some of the festive paraphernalia is thrown into a fire to be consumed.

2: Courlander B-5 (1937-1955) 1960 SV3 Haiti SV3
[P.112-LL]
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6p. *A contemporary "primitive" by M. Stephane.*

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6k. *A painting by C. Hibbard showing a Rara group led by a juggler holding a table in his mouth.* (*Collection of Marshall Stearns.*)

2: Courlander B-5 (1937-1955) 1960 SV3 Haiti SV3

[P. 112 - MM]

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6. Rara dancing near Gonaïves. Voodoo flagpoles are at the left.

7. A Rara group near Port-au-Prince. At the left are the baby drum and a tambalo. One of the four musicians, center, is made of wood. Behind the musicians are the musical flag and a lamplion.

2: Courlander B-5 (1937-1955) 1960 SV3 Haiti SV3
[P. 112-NN]
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71. *Rara at Léogane. Behind the dancing engineer (see) a member of the group holds their banner, which depicts a bird carrying a lizard. The costumes are traditional and are fashioned in part from industrial cloth.*

2: Courlander B-5 (1937-1955) 1960 SV3 Haiti SV3
[P. 112-00]
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72. *A roi Lwalwadi in the Cul-de-Sac Plain.*

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73. *Rara stick dancers in Port-au-Prince.*

2: Courlander B-5 (1937,1955) 1960 SV3 Haiti SV3
[P. 112 - PP]
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74. *Chalucka dancers in Port-au-Prince.*

75. *Maypole dancers. Musicians are sitting next to the pole.*

2: Courlander B-5 (1937-1955) 1960 SV3 Haiti SV3
[P.112-QQ]
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[184] [171] K. *A Rara group near Plaisance. The costumes differ from those in the south. Note the Madras waistcloths, reminiscent of West African dress.*

2: Courlander B-5 (1937-1965) 1960 SV3 Haiti SV3

535 *Rabouin*, or *Bambouin*: Dancel on the occasion of building a new house.
535 *Macoute*: Dancel by a société after communal work on the land of one of its members.
476 *Ti Coumbe*: Another société work dance, sometimes closely related to Vodoun ritual. Known in Brazil as Macumba.
Kouze, or *Coundjaille*: A dance connected with communal work celebrations.[1]

Rara and Carnival Dances

535 *Rara*, also called *Chanjepié*, *Lavalavdi*, and *Varrier*: The perambulating dances of
●541 the Rara festival.
Mazurun, or *Cocoyé*: Dancel for the Mardi Gras.
Paillette: Any carnival dance in costume.
Batouzin: A carnival stick dance with West African precedents.
Trèzé Ribon: The carnival Maypole dance.
Congo Paillette: The "Straw Congo," or "Costume Congo," the carnival dance of the *société* Congo. It is also known as Ciyé and Congo Mardi Gras.
Rabordage: A Mardi Gras perambulating dance.
Chalucha: A Mardi Gras dance in which the participants are dressed as nineteenth-century generals. Comic mimicry. Also referred to as Charles Oscar.
Zinipen
Rabane
Mayouse

Other Secular and Miscellaneous Dances

535 *Zezer*: A *gaga* dance of northern Haiti.
Calinda: A stick battle dance. Also a dance of the Calinda "secret society."
Ka: A dance which takes its name from the *ka*, a secular drum.
Bilé, or *Belair*
Mangouline
Ti Coije: This is regarded by some informants as one of the Pitou dances.
Malfini: "The Hawk," a dance of northern Haiti.
Pinpinne: A simple "good time" dance.
Bamboché: A simple "good time" dance.
Bamboche: A "good time" dance. The term is often used to designate any social dance. As a verb, *bamboché* means "to dance" or "to have a good time."

Secular Dances of European Type

535 199 *Meringue*: There are three main types of Meringue—the drawing-room Meringue, the ordinary "ballroom" Meringue, and the Meringue *Coundjaille* (which is fast and agitated). A development of the last decade or so is the jazz Meringue.
Ti Robine: This is a sort of square dance, though it is sometimes danced in Meringue style.
Minuet, or *Minouet*: The minuet.
Polka
Waltz
Quadrille
Mazurka
Contredanse

[Footnote appears on p. 352, Category 16.--Ed.]

2: Courlander B-5 (1937-1955) 1960 SV3 Haiti SV3

easily be hidden, but the gambos were simply slipped into the straw roofs and thus put out of sight. Moreover, by some strange process of reasoning, military authorities regarded the bamboos as "harmless," though they were used for the same purposes as the contraband drums.

There are numerous other kinds of simple percussion devices. One such instrument, now less commonly seen than previously, is a length of open bamboo laid in the crotches of two Y-shaped sticks set in the ground. Like other *cutac*, the bamboo is beaten with two sticks. Some Haitians believe that in former days such bamboos were played in batteries like a xylophone.

Sometimes a light-weight wooden cylinder, or perhaps a drum denuded of its playing head, is carried by the timekeeper of a coumbite. It, also, is played on the side with sticks.

Wooden mortars for pulverizing grain take on the character of musical instruments when used in combination with voices. When two or more mortars are used, with two men or women wielding the long polelike pestles in each mortar, the rhythmic effects can become fairly complicated.

The *claves* or *palos* (small hardwood sticks) are used primarily in connection with secular dances of a Cuban type, or to accompany such instruments as the guitar and the marimba. One stick is held loosely in the natural fold of the hand, so that it is free to vibrate, and is struck sharply with the second stick. The tone is almost metallic because of the hardness of the wood, usually lignum vitae. The name of the instrument is recognizable as a form of *clavo*, or *clavo*, Spanish for "peg" or "nail." It is thought that wooden shipbuilding pegs provided the name for this device, which has equivalents in West Africa.

Among the folk instruments there are various kinds of horns and trumpets. Cows' horns are played musically in some parts of the southern peninsula, though usually they are used as ritual instruments and signaling devices. Wooden trumpets called *pistous* are carved from the stems of the papaya tree. Conch-shell trumpets, known as *lambis*, are commonly used as signaling devices by fishermen. They are also to be found among the coumbites, in Rara festivities, and occasionally in rituals, where they are usually identified with sea deities. In carnival times the old fashioned phonograph horn makes its appearance as a combined trumpet and voice amplifier.

Probably the most important of the trumpets is the one made of bamboo. It is called a *corne/cor bois bambou*. Both names have interesting origins. The cow's horn was at one time used for magico-medical purposes. The local doctor used it as an "applicator" of powders and potions. A small opening was made in the point of the horn, and

1 [See plate 8, p. 112-F. -- Analyst]

2: Courlander 8-5 (1937-1938) 1960 SV3 Haiti SV3

Rara season two special rattles are used. One of them is made of metal and resembles a tin can with a wooden handle. The metal sometimes is perforated with numerous small holes, and inside are *kokoli* seeds, which act as rattlers. This instrument, known as a *tchancy*, is usually decorated with colorful ribbons when in use. (In northern Haiti the term *tchancy* is used to designate metal wrist rattles worn by drummers.) The other Rara rattle, called *jouvoujou* or *jouvjou*, is made of three gourds carried on a long pole. One of the gourds is affixed to the end of the pole, and the others are fastened to the terminals of a short crossbar, giving the effect of a cross with bulbous ends. Since many of the Rara processions are dramatizations of the Christ epic, the instrument could be interpreted as a Christian symbol, though its conversion into a noisemaker appears to be an African conception. The *jouvoujou* may be a variant of the small rattle-cross which is used by the Abakwa secret society in Cuba.*

The sacred gourd rattle of the cult priest is called *asson* or *hokpon*. It is pear-shaped and covered with a network of beads which act as external strikers. It is used by the houngan to summon the spirits of the dead, to praise or call upon the deities, and to accompany the performance of magic. The asson is of West African derivation, and its counterparts are to be found among the cults of Martinique, Trinidad, Cuba, Brazil, Venezuela, and elsewhere where African traditions have left their mark. The gourds from which the assons are made are grown in a special grove sacred to the loa.

A large calabash rattle has been reported from several isolated regions of Haiti, primarily from the north. Some rattles of this kind have been described as more than twenty inches in height and covered by a network of external strikers, usually waxi beans. The calabash rattles are used in groups of three. They are shaken and thumped against the palm of the hand, producing both deep and high-pitched sounds. These oversize rattles are employed without drums and are said to be associated with Arada-Nago rites. They appear to be a survival of the instrument known among the Yoruba as the *shikpwe* and are found in Cuba in both Dahomey and Lucumi (Yoruba) cult centers.

Probably one of the oldest of Haitian folk instruments is the earth bow, known as the *tambour mariangoin*, or mosquito drum. Traditionally the mosquito drum is made in the following way:

A hole is dug in the earth, perhaps a foot or more deep. It is covered with palm or banana bark, which is pegged firmly all around. A cord is attached to the center of the bark membrane and drawn taut to a bent green sapling, one end of which is buried in the ground at a slight angle. The cord is plucked and stopped with the fingers of one hand, while

* [See Courlander, "Musical Instruments of Cuba," Musical Quarterly, Apr. 1, 1942, pp. 233-241. Cf. p. 354, Category 116. -- Analyst]

its tension is varied by pressure on the bowed stick with the other hand, producing a change of pitch. The covered hole acts as a sound chamber.

In a "portable" model of the mouquito drum a tin pail or can is used for a sounding chamber. The pail is inverted and fastened to a small plank, to which the sapling also is affixed. It is believed by some observers that the instrument has special significance during the pre-Easter holidays (Mardi Gras and Rara),[1] but it may be used at almost any time of the year. The "accompaniment" for the mouquito drum usually consists of some kind of *cata*—sticks beaten upon a board or on the drumhead itself. On occasion, two or three of these instruments are beaten together, and the rough bark membrane may be rasped for additional effects. Most of the songs that go with the mouquito drum are secular. One of the appropriate songs favored by children goes:

> Mouiquito dit mouin ta swing ah!
> Mouiquito dit mouin ta swing!
> To swing ah!
> To swing! [Ex. 166]
>
> Mouquito says I will swing, ah!
> Mouquito says I will swing!
> Will swing, ah!
> Will swing! *

The earth bow has a clear African ancestry. In almost identical form it has been found in the French Sudan, among the Wachumbula of East Africa, the Bongos in the eastern Congo, the Bafia and Baya in the Cameroons, the Fulbe in the Sahara region, and the Patadjallon people in Nigeria.[2]

The German explorer Georg Schweinfurth might have been describing a Haitian scene when he wrote, some eighty-five years ago, of the Bongos:

> Performers may be seen sitting for an hour together with an instrument of this sort: They stick one end of the bow into the ground, and fasten the string over a cavity covered with bark, which opens into an aperture for the escape of the sound. They pass one hand from one part of the bow to another, and with the other they play upon the string with the bamboo twig and produce a variety of humming airs which are really rather pretty. This is a common pastime with the lads who are put in charge of the goats. I have seen them apply themselves very earnestly and with obvious interest to their musical practice, and the ingenious use to which they apply the secrets of the theory of sound.[3]

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* The basic rhythm of the mouquito as it sounds.

1 (Combarieu Sylvain, Les Cantes haitiens, pp 99-102. Cf. p 354, Category 116. -- Analyst)

2 (Curt Sachs, Geist und Werden der Musikinstrumente (Berlin, 1924) pp. 60-61. Cf. p 354 Cat. 116. -- Analyst)

3 (Schweinfurth, The Heart of Africa, I, 287. Cf p 354 Category 116. -- Analyst)

D. Courlander 8-5 (1937-1960) 1960 RVS HAITI 973

534 [541] Among the noisemakers heard mostly at the time of the Rara festival (usually on Good Friday) are the *ron-ron*, or bull-roarer—a thin flat piece of wood whirled on the end of a cord—and the *raw*, the common wooden ratchet. Various types of wooden flutes, usually of bamboo, are also used.

[184] In the remoter parts of the mountains you may now and then hear of an instrument known as the *banza*. A century ago, it would appear, the *banza* was a stringed instrument resembling a banjo. The similarity of names is striking, in view of the instrument's early form. Today, however, the word *banza* is applied to the homemade fiddle which is used to accompany the minuet and other old dances of European origin.

[179] 534 534.2 978 A children's instrument seen sometimes in the mountains is constructed of half of a calabash shell, across the opening of which have been stretched a number of cords. This plucked device appears to be a decadent form of the African trough zither.

[# 203-313 not processed]

Courrau 5: *Services for the Loa and the Family Ancestors (pp. 47–74)*

[illegible] that the houngan and the hajkun are performing services normally performed by the *petit serviteur*.

[illegible], *Dahomey*, II, 183.

[illegible], *Spirit Cult in Haiti*.

Account given by Jean René Pierre.

Informant: Albert Kofi Prempeh, Ghana.

Account given by Yolande Edmond. A. W. Cardinall notes in his book *Tales Told in Togoland* (p. 64): "Trees are in most cases treated with respect. Before a man dare fell one for a canoe he must invariably draw sacrifice to its spirit and apologize for the harm he is about to do it."

"The rite of *rafraîchi* ally is conducted periodically for a *mulé* after the original *lavé tête* ceremony. The purpose is to "refresh" the loa and make him content with his residence in the head of the devotee.

[illegible], *The Myth of the Negro Past*, p. 113.

It is of interest to note the persistence of traditional attitudes toward water even in certain Negro cults in the United States. Even baptism given is attended by certain reticence in familiar form.

Viktor Mortensen Rajmil, "Notes on Two Marriages with Voodoos Loa," in Appendix A of Deren, *Divine Horsemen*, p. 284.

Courrau 6: *Songs of the Peristyle (pp. 75–94)*

This theme is further commented on in chap. 13. Compare with the following excerpt from a Surinam song reported by Herskovits in *Suriname Folk-Lore* (p. 689):

I have no mother there,
I have no father there,
I have no sister there,
I haven't got anybody there.

Courrau 7: *In the Mapou Tree: Magic, Demons, and Company (pp. 95–104)*

Thompson, "Haitian Magic," *Social Forces*, October, 1946, p. 80.

Note the coincidence of the term *gringolet* or *gingol* as used in the United States, where it has the same meaning as *mojo*, or "conjure" charm.

Thompson, "Haitian Peasant Economy," *Journal of Negro History*, October, 1946, p. 379.

Herskovits, *Dahomey*, II, p. 143.

Courrau 8: *Mardi Gras and Rara: Jugglers, Magicians, and Kings (pp. 105–109)*

Métraux, *Ile Haïti*, p. 40.

Performances of this kind have been observed in both Iran and West Africa and are well known in the region of Senegal. I saw a phallic masquerade, virtually identical with the Haitian version, in the neighborhood of Khorramabad, Iran.

Courrau 9: *Land and Work (pp. 110–121)*

Frankfort, *The Problem Books of Haiti*, p. 380.

Herskovits, *Dahomey*, I, pp. 81, describes Dahomean polygamous marriage in the various forms. Although Dahomean plural marriage is complex in terms of gifts, obligations, and

3: Leyburn Z-4, 5 (no date) 1966
SV3 Haiti SV3

643 and being the personal property of the monarch and recipients of his
701 royal favor, were to constitute the perpetual support of his throne.
625 Only four thousand of these compulsory immigrants came, but
625 Christophe made them into very effective companies of police, whom he named the Royal Dahomets from the country of their origin. They performed the duties of a gendarmerie in all the districts of the North, drove the cultivators to their labors, watched over property and the security of the proprietors, and maintained industry and a strict subordination among all ranks of people in the kingdom.

175 Christophe's regular troops were well clothed and armed. They
701 were kept under stern discipline, no mercy or relaxation being
[703] shown them; delinquency on their part brought flagellation or a military execution. The troops received only a nominal stipend, and each soldier was required to gain his subsistence by cultivating a few acres of ground allotted to him out of the national domain. The usual quarter of this income had, of course, to be turned over as a tax to the state. Although the King's power was maintained by soldiers, he never coddled them. "The soldiers of the army as well as the laborers of the plantations lived in perpetual dread of the rod of authority," wrote Brown.[14] They seem to have developed a tradition of some special fetish power possessed by Christophe, a sort of *mana*, to use anthropological terminology. Even princes and dukes were chastised by the King's orders, and then made to do menial work by way of further punishment.

Conditions in the republic of Pétion were similar and yet different —similar in that soldiers formed the support of the government, different in that Pétion did not rule by fear. Every individual man between 16 and 60, a few cultivators excepted, was required by law to be a soldier, either in the *corps solde* (regular troops of the line), or in the *corps non solde* (national guard). The former, both under Pétion and in the early days of Boyer, had about 40,000 men distributed in strong detachments in towns and communes all over the
[914] country. Their costume, instead of being neat, uniform, and daily inspected as with Christophe's army, was ragged and mismated; they managed according to popular parlance "to find linen on every
[466] hedge." They were paid from fifty cents to a dollar a month, ac-
[541] cording to the existing solvency or exigency of the state. Each week
[612] end a parade and review was held, and then a small fatigue party was taken to do actual duty, the others being dismissed until the next

14. Op. cit., II, 229.

3: Leyburn Z-4, 5 (no date) 1966
SV3 Haiti SV3

527 On Saturday nights one hears the drums beating all over the country, but if one follows the sound he is more than likely to end [534] up at nothing more exoteric than a neighborhood dance. Other [535] musical instruments than drums are rare, but any community has drums; and these set a rhythm to which one can dance. Generally food is available at these affairs, as well as drinks both hard and soft. 273 It is not extraordinary to discover that a few of the men have drunk rather freely of clairin, the raw rum of the country; most drunkenness seems to lead to good-natured ribaldry rather than to offensive violence. It is unusual for a drunken man to cause damage of any 535 serious nature. The dancing corresponds neither to American ballroom dancing nor to set folk dancing. Most of it is done solo, and an 533 individual participates or remains on the outskirts of the enclosure as the mood of the moment impels him. Over the beat of the drum can be heard one of the current songs, more than likely a bit smutty in nature, and frequently poking fun at some well-known personage, or making allusions which in normal speech might seem crude.

• 541 [525] One of the popular Sunday afternoon sports is the *gaguère*, or cockfight, held under a shelter back of a home. Much small betting goes on. The spectators sit or stoop close around the dusty ring, talking to the cock they are backing, commenting on the fight, offering advice to the owner. Between rounds the cocks are rubbed down, sprayed with water or rum, fondled and excited anew. Toward the latter stages of any fight the spectacle becomes gory and, to the uninitiated, distinctly cruel.

526 There is singularly little sport in Haiti. Elite youths play tennis; boys enjoy football; and swimming is a common diversion. Few sports are competitive and, so far as the writer has observed, the peasants have in their games practically nothing resembling organization.